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THE COMMUNIST PARTY LINE

JULY 1965 -- DECEMBER 1965



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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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January 1966

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Federal Bureau of Investigation
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PREFACE

This monograph sets forth the position the Communist Party, USA, has taken on major issues of national and international interest.

The publications reviewed to determine the viewpoint of the Communist Party, USA, include the twice-weekly newspaper The Worker and the monthly magazine Political Affairs.

With reference to the transcription of the quotations used to support the summary statements at the beginning of each section, misspellings have been underlined. Nothing has been done to point out errors in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, et cetera.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

The Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), continues its propaganda attack against United States efforts to halt communist aggression in Southeast Asia. The Party demands, and urges all Americans to demand, the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam.

The Party charges that the United States is waging a war of aggression against the people of Vietnam; that U.S. Armed Forces have committed every crime against humanity; and that the Government is planning to turn Vietnam, Thailand, and Laos into a base of operations from which to subjugate Asia.

U.S. foreign policy is equated with that of Hitler through such statements as "Morally and spiritually, the war which the Government is waging in Vietnam leads our country onto the plain of infamy to which Hitler led the German nation."

The communists assert that the United States, because of its policy in Southeast Asia and the Dominican Republic, has become one of the most hated nations of all time. According to the Party, while the U.S. wages a war of aggression in Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union stands as the bulwark of peace. The CPUSA theorizes that oppressed nations are often forced to

wage war for their freedom and that all such wars are just wars and are supported by communists. The situation in Vietnam is cited as an example of a war in which communists give full support to "the people in their heroic struggles for their freedom and condemn the barbaric war of extermination being waged against them by U.S. imperialism."

According to the Party, all Latin America, with the exception of Cuba, suffers political and economic domination by the United States. The recent agreement between Cuba and the U.S. for the safe transport of "Cubans who want to join their relatives in the USA," the Party asserts, is a victory for Cuban foreign policy and shows the world that normal relations and a settlement of outstanding questions between the two countries can be reached by negotiation.

The Party claims that most Americans want no part of the war in Vietnam; that almost all the Nation's clergymen, writers, college professors, teachers, students, and business people want President Johnson to call a halt. According to the communists, the only ones openly backing U.S. policy are "the most reactionary Republicans, the Dixiecrat Democrats, the ultra-Rightists, the John Birchers, Ku Klux Klansmen and other racists."

The claim that the majority of the American people already oppose U.S. foreign policy does not lessen the Party's effort to influence public opinion in this regard. The communists continue to ridicule the Great Society, belittle

the war on poverty, and exploit labor issues, the Negro movement, and problems of farmers, youth, the aged, and other groups. The CPUSA says that intervention in the Dominican Republic and Vietnam has made a mockery of the Great Society and the war on poverty; that it is impossible to wipe out ghettos and slums when billions are being squandered on armaments. Labor is told that minimum wage improvement, repeal of Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act, and other measures of interest have been neglected by the Congress because of the war in Vietnam. The Party boasted of its support for equal rights, deplored "police brutality" and urged that civilian control of police be established. It warned that the civil rights movement must see foreign policy as an integral part of the struggle for Negro freedom.

During the period covered by this monograph, the CPUSA intensified its emphasis on "mass struggle." In commenting on congressional legislation, the Party states that the measures of interest to the working class were not handed down by a magnanimous Congress and President but were the result of mass struggle.

Labor is urged to take up a position of leadership to form an alliance of peace forces, the Negro movement, and the trade-union movement. Such an alliance acting as an independent force in politics, the Party predicts, could force a change in foreign policy toward peace;

could end the Jim Crow system, north and south; and could bring into being more meaningful reforms to deal with poverty, insecurity, the problems of youth, and the crises in the cities.

The Party insists that interest in Marxism is increasing in this country; that the only real answer to the problems of poverty is "socialism"; and that, while there are many roads to "socialism," the working people of this country will find their own road.

B. Conclusions

1. In its attempt to bring about U.S. withdrawal from Southeast Asia, the CPUSA can be expected to continue its denunciation of U.S. foreign policy.
2. The repeal of the McCarran Act and the abolition of the House Committee on Un-American Activities continue as CPUSA major objectives. The Party will exploit to the fullest the Supreme Court decision declaring unconstitutional the provision of the McCarran Act requiring Communist Party membership registration. As an illustration, pleas for and claims of increased Party membership have been and will be made.
3. Unity of the peace forces, the Negro movement, women's groups, the trade-union movement, and "other progressive organizations" will continue to receive especial emphasis.
4. There can be no doubt that the Party will intensify its campaign to influence the thinking and activities of today's youth.

I. FOREIGN POLICY--The Communist Party Line

1. The mark of Forrestal is upon McNamara; there are marks of madness all about him. He should be kicked out of the Defense job and stripped of his Cabinet post.
2. Most Americans want no part of the dirty war against the Vietnamese people. The only people openly backing the war are the most reactionary Republicans, the Dixiecrat Democrats, the ultra-Rightists, the John Birchers, Ku Klux Klansmen, and other racists.
3. The war will not be confined to South Vietnam. It is now clear that the U.S. plans to turn South Vietnam, Thailand, Laos, and whatever other territories it can subjugate into a vast base of operations from which to subjugate Asia. There has been an ominous overtone of threats to China.
4. All forces in America, black and white, should unite to make their opposition to the war felt. They should demand the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from South Vietnam.
5. Morally and spiritually, the war in Vietnam leads our country onto the plain of infamy to which Hitler led Germany. Millions of Americans are protesting U.S. policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic because they realize that the U.S. could share the ignominy and shame that are Germany's.
6. It is clear that Brazil is to be the center of Washington's operations to destroy democracy in all of Latin America.
7. The recent agreement for the safe transport of Cubans to the U.S. shows the world that normal relations and the settlement of outstanding problems between the two countries can be reached through negotiation.
8. America stands as one of the most hated nations of all times.

9. The Soviet Union continues to be the leading force for peace, progress, and socialism. Communists support the Vietnamese in their just war of national liberation and condemn the barbaric war of extermination being waged against them by U.S. imperialism.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Oust McNamara Now!

"THE MARK of Forrestal is upon him.

"You have seen it there on the TV tube. The dilated pupils. The glassy stare. The mirthless giggle...."

"WHETHER OR NOT our appraisal of McNamara is clinically sound, it cannot be denied that there are marks of madness all about him...."

"The war madness of McNamara is the monkey on the back of our nation.

"The time is long overdue for being rid of this symbol of our affliction.

"McNamara has got to go. He needs to be kicked out of the Defense job and stripped of his Cabinet post. That is a requisite step that must be taken to enable the Administration, under the pressure of the people, to find its way back from the brink of disaster to the path toward peace.

"The demand should rise to a crescendo to--

"Oust McNamara now!

"No more escalation!

"No more bombings!

"No more war in Vietnam!"

The Worker,
December 5, 1965, p. 3.

2. Most Americans Want No Part of War in Vietnam

"THE MARCHES last Saturday in N.Y. and other places by President Johnson's 'supporters' revealed that most of the American people want no part of the dirty war against the Vietnamese people...."

The Worker,
November 7, 1965, p. 12.

"THE CHARRED bodies of three gentle, peace-loving Americans cry out to the conscience of America."

"As Marxists, we believe that as heroic and self-sacrificing as the acts of idealistic individuals may be, only the united, mass protest of millions of Americans, joined in similar actions by the people of the world, can achieve the objectives for which the three peace martyrs gave up their lives.

"But we think the nation can and must be aroused to the significance of their moving acts of self-sacrifice.

"Their martyrdom is an expression of the deep revulsion against the dirty war in Vietnam, unprecedented in our history, that is gripping hundreds of thousands of our finest youth, our academic world, our greatest playwrights and poets--and, particularly, tens of thousands of religious leaders and followers of all faiths."

The Worker,
November 14, 1965, pp. 1, 3.

"The truth is that most Americans want the Johnson administration to halt the Vietnam war and get their sons and husbands out of that country. Almost all of the nation's pastors, priests and rabbis have made it clear that is what they want. So have most of the country's writers, college professors, teachers, students and business people, as they have shown in newspaper advertisements, teach-ins, demonstrations, marches and picket lines.

"The only people who are openly backing the Johnson administration's Vietnam war are the most reactionary Republicans, the Dixiecrat Democrats, the ultra-Rightists, the John Birchers, Ku Klux Klansmen and other racists."

The Worker,
November 28, 1965, p. 10.

3. Vietnam a Base of Operations on Mainland of Asia

"There is no longer any pretense about helping the South Vietnamese preserve their freedom. Now Washington is taking over the war--and it is a war supposedly for the 'national integrity' and the 'national honor' of the U. S. And it is supposedly a war to defend the national borders of the U. S. and it is a war that will not be confined to South Vietnam.

"There was an ominous overtone of threats to China. And there was an indication that the Johnson administration would move militarily into any Asian country where the people dared to act for their freedom and independence."

The Worker,
August 1, 1965, p. 1.

"The long-range significance of this massive buildup in South Vietnam goes far beyond the fighting in Vietnam itself. For it is now clear: the plan of U.S. imperialism is to turn the area of South Vietnam; Thailand,

Laos and whatever other territories it can subjugate into a vast military complex, a vast base of operations on the Asia mainland. The aim is to turn this area into a huge Guam or Okinawa."

The Worker,
November 7, 1965, p. 2.

"The Administration is forced to hide a policy that is against the best interests of our people....

"It is a policy of making the world safe for exploitation by U. S. Big Business. It is a policy of turning Vietnam, Thailand and Laos into a massive military complex from which to subjugate Asia. It is a policy of turning the world back to the days of open colonial slavery."

The Worker,
November 28, 1965, p. 2.

"Behind the lies of 'unconditional discussion' stands a policy of establishing a U. S. military base on the Asia mainland from which to dominate that part of the world."

The Worker,
December 12, 1965, p. 9.

4. Withdraw All Troops from Vietnam

"You can help. Write President Johnson, telling him you want him to order a ceasefire and withdraw all U. S. troops from Vietnam. Write your Congressman and Senators, urging them to back full, open hearings on the Vietnam war, why the U. S. became involved, who wants it to continue, and what Washington wants to get out of it. Get your friends, neighbors, fellow-workers, unions, civil rights groups, and churches to help you."

The Worker,
July 11, 1965, p. 3.

"Obviously patriotism is not to be found in supporting policies which alienate people, which not only destroy our prestige but could result in our extermination. All forces in America, black and white should join together and call for an end to a policy which makes us a policeman trying to determine how people should order their lives in the jungles of South Vietnam...."

The Worker,
August 29, 1965, p. 10.

"... It is becoming more obvious every day that the American people will have to make felt their opposition to the dirty war in Vietnam, if there is to be a cessation in the mass killing initiated and carried on by Washington."

The Worker,
November 16, 1965, p. 7.

"Washington must be compelled to change its bellicose and defiant posture and take instant measures to decelerate and then abandon its murderous military adventure in Vietnam."

The Worker,
December 14, 1965, p. 2.

5. U. S. Policy--Hitler Infamy

"Morally and spiritually, the war which the Government is waging in Vietnam leads our country onto the plain of infamy to which Hitler led the German nation. History will not absolve our nation should our countrymen remain silent and acquiesce in the crimes against humanity being done in our name against the people of Vietnam. This was the Judgment of Nuremberg and we cannot evade its clear and present implications."

The Worker,
November 28, 1965, p. 1.

"... It is with the fearful realization that our country can share the ignominy and shame that is Germany's that millions of Americans have risen in unprecedented rebellion against the war in Vietnam and the invasion of the Dominican Republic, and are beginning to challenge the entire course of U.S. foreign policy."

Mike Davidow, "Triumph Over Hitlerism," Political Affairs, November, 1965, p. 61.

6. Destruction of Democracy in Latin America

"Now reports indicate that some madmen in the state Department are going to push the plan of a military occupation force for all Latin America at the Nov. 17 meeting of foreign ministers of the Organization of American States in Rio de Janeiro.

"Will the Johnson administration never learn? Must the American people and the peoples of Latin America suffer because of Johnson's unwillingness to turn away from his ruinous Latin American policy...."

The Worker,
October 3, 1965, p. 3.

"It has become clear that Brazil is to be the center of all of Washington's operations to destroy democracy in all the Latin American countries. Ever since the Pentagon installed Castelo Branco as puppet military dictator, Washington has been building up Brazil for this subversive operation."

The Worker,
November 2, 1965, p. 8.

7. Agreement for Transport of Cubans a Victory for Cuban Foreign Policy

"The recently concluded agreement between the Cuban and US government for the safe transport of Cubans who want to join their relatives in the USA,

is a victory for Cuba's foreign policy, based on the principle of peaceful co-existence and respect for the sovereignty of all nations, big and small.

"November 6th, 1965, therefore, will go down in history as an important date, breaking the deadlock between the two neighboring countries, and showing world and U. S. public opinion that normal relations and a settlement of any outstanding questions can be reached by negotiations....

"The substance of this agreement, originally proposed by Cuba, gives the lie to those who had been crying to high heaven accusing Cuba of not permitting departures to the USA."

The Worker,
December 5, 1965, p. 6.

8. America One of Most Hated Nations of All Times

"...Today America stands in the world as one of the most hated nations of all times. Most of today's world has labelled us: 'The Ugly American.'

"The continuation of the foreign policy as pursued by President Johnson in time is going to reduce this nation to a second or third rate power, or no nation at all."

The Worker,
August 29, 1965, p. 10.

"The aggression in the Dominican Republic will cost the American people dear in the loss of friendship and the increase of hate by the Latin American countries who suffer with their Dominican brothers and sisters from U. S. imperialism."

The Worker,
October 3, 1965, p. 3.

9. USSR--Bulwark of Peace

"...The socialist countries, and especially the Soviet Union, have given unstinting aid and support to the oppressed nations seeking their freedom, and to those recently liberated in their efforts to develop their economic independence...."

"To be sure, oppressed nations are often compelled to wage war for their freedom. Communists unhesitatingly support all such wars of national liberation as just wars, directed against imperialist enslavement....

"The war in Vietnam is a case in point. Communists give full support to the Vietnamese people in their heroic struggles for their freedom and condemn the barbaric war of extermination being waged against them by U. S. imperialism...."

"The central fact of modern history is that the Soviet Union, the first country to take the path of socialism, continues today to be the leading force for peace, progress and socialism in the world...."

"USSR--Bulwark of Peace,"
Political Affairs,
November, 1965, pp. 4, 5, 6.

II. DOMESTIC ISSUES--The Communist Party Line

1. Those who participated in the March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam are the vanguard of the true conscience of our nation.
2. Intervention in the Dominican Republic and the stepped-up war in Vietnam have made a mockery of the President's Great Society and the war on poverty. It is impossible to squander more than \$50 billion on armaments each year and still spend the billions needed to wipe out ghettos and slums.
3. The problem of providing electric power is getting beyond the control or solution of the free enterprise system. America has become the target of ridicule in other capitalist countries, like England, where power is nationalized.
4. Ideas of socialism and Marxism come to the fore in the Negro movement. The youth, the intelligentsia, groups in the trade-unions, peace workers, and many church organizations are grasping the central character of the Negro struggle and see a need for deeper analysis and more antimonopoly effort. They, too, are becoming more interested in Marxism.
5. Capitalism will not make poor people rich, or even comfortable. The only real answer to the problems of poverty is socialism.
6. There are various roads to socialism, and the working people of this country will find their own road.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Congratulations to Marchers for Peace

"GREETINGS AND CONGRATULATIONS to you who have come out against the horrendous war of aggression which the Government is waging against the people of Vietnam.

"You youths and adults, you workers and students, you Negro and white citizens from the crossroads and grassroots of America.

"You who have a genuine regard for the honor of our country and a concern for the rights of Man everywhere, you are the vanguard of the true conscience of our nation."

"The March on Washington for Peace in Vietnam is both a mandate from the people and a clarion call to the people:

"ACT OUT your yearning for peace NOW!

"Let the united voice of millions thunder across the land to proclaim Peace to Vietnam. Let none be silent!

"Let all demand that the President immediately GROUND THE PLANES and proceed to WITHDRAW ALL U. S. ARMED FORCES FROM VIETNAM.

"Let the people of South Vietnam exercise their right of self-determination in accord with the Geneva Convention of 1954, without U. S. interference.

"Let all work unitedly to mobilize the conscience of America to compel the Government to end its war in Vietnam."

The Worker,
November 28, 1965, p. 1.

2. Intervention in Vietnam and Dominican Republic Makes Mockery of Great Society and War on Poverty

"... in Washington intervention in the Dominican Republic and the stepped up war in Vietnam made a mockery of the President's Great Society and the war that never really started, the war on poverty. More than two billion dollars

a year is being pumped into the Vietnam war, with untold billions to follow, while only \$1.5 billion is still being considered by Congress to fight poverty."

The Worker,
July 11, 1965, p. 2.

"Mr. President...the time for emergency action is now. Stop the war against the Vietnam peoples! Spend billions for life, not death! Meet the emergency with an immediate reconstruction appropriation bill of no less than \$15 billion!..."

The Worker,
September 12, 1965, p. 11.

"...not the least of the obstacles to a real war on poverty...is the continued escalation of U.S. aggression in Vietnam and the consequent diversion of growing sums to military purposes. The welfare of the people of Watts, and of the poor everywhere, is inseparable from the fight to end the war in Vietnam."

"Watts and the 'War on Poverty,'"
Political Affairs,
October, 1965, p. 7.

"UP TO NOW, the only artillery being heard in President Johnson's War on Poverty is the popgun of publicity. The jobs that were promised for the unemployed--the Negroes, the youth, the jobless in the Appalachias--are not forthcoming. The slums and the ghettos are not coming down. The Wattses throughout the country still fester and burn. No housing of any consequence is being built to fill the need. Segregation still is rampant in the schools of the South, and in many sections of the North. There is no integration of the Negro into the economic, social and political life of the South--or the North."

"If President Johnson is sincere about the war on poverty, he would shift a large portion of the \$50 to 60 billions now being squandered on the destructiveness of war to the constructive projects urgently needed to solve the people's economic problems...."

The Worker,
October 12, 1965, p. 2.

"... There can be no real war on poverty and against the ghetto as long as the nation plunges ever more deeply into the morass of armaments and war. It is impossible to squander more than \$50 billion on armaments each year and still invest the tens of billions needed yearly to wipe out ghettos and slums and modernize education and transportation...."

The Worker,
November 28, 1965, p. 3.

"... Little aid can be expected from the federal government for education, health and other needs with the dirty war in Vietnam continuing to drain federal funds. Only stronger pressures for an end to the war in Vietnam can release these funds for the needs of the people."

Irving Potash, "Elections in New Jersey," Political Affairs, December, 1965, p. 21.

3. Electric-Power Problem Getting beyond Solution by Free Enterprise

"The power companies find it much more profitable to arrange for power flow from other sources for periods in the day when consumption is higher, than to build additional generating capacity or to provide 'back-up' plants that could be operated if something goes wrong."

"The problem is getting beyond the control or solution of the 'free enterprise' system. America has even become the target of ridicule from the other capitalist countries, like England, where power is nationalized."

The Worker,
November 16, 1965, p. 8.

4. Interest in Marxism Growing

"... The demands of the Negro movement are in fact taking on a greater structural character; increasingly, ideas of socialism and Marxism come to the fore, notwithstanding everything.

"Increasingly, too, wider elements among the white population are grasping the central character of the Negro struggle; the youth, the intelligentsia, groups in the trade unions, the peace workers, many church organizations. As they see the interconnection they also see the need for deeper analysis and more fundamental, more independent, more anti-monopoly effort; among such groups, also, the interest in Marxism is growing. Indeed, I think it is a fact that not in thirty years have so many Americans been studying so seriously and so eagerly the Marxian outlook."

Herbert Aptheker, :"The Watts Ghetto Uprising," Political Affairs, November, 1965, p. 41.

"The big wonder in America today is how, after 15 years of such harassment under the McCarran Law and years of oppression earlier under other laws, the Communist Party is here and Communism a more widespread topic of discussion in America than ever before."

The Worker,
November 21, 1965, p. 10.

"... Not in thirty years has there been so serious, deep and widespread an interest in Marxism and in socialism as there is now in the colleges, universities and scholarly organizations and professions in the United States."

Herbert Aptheker, "Recent Ideological Developments in the United States," Political Affairs, December, 1965, p. 48.

5. Socialist Society Only Answer to Problems of Poverty

"... We are for a real war on poverty. It is true that capitalism will not make poor people rich, or even comfortable and that the only real answer to the problems of poverty (sweat shops, lack of skills, technological unemployment, etc.) is a socialist society where the resources are used in the interest of all, not just of a small capitalist class. Nevertheless, the war on poverty is important in our immediate struggles."

The Worker,
November 14, 1965, p. 9.

6. Americans Will Build Socialism Their Own Way

"AMERICANS will, when the time comes, build socialism their way in the United States--the U.S. way...."

The Worker,
October 3, 1965, p. 7.

"... Our club is the Boston area youth club of the Communist Party of the United States of America and, as such, has a definite world view derived from the writings of Marx, Engels, and Lenin. We firmly believe that the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, of poverty, war, racism and ignorance will be finally achieved only by a socialist reorganization of society, by the common ownership and operation of the national economy under a government of the people led by the working class. We hold that there are

various roads to socialism, and that the working people of this country will find their own road to socialism."

The Worker,
November 14, 1965, p. 6.

"With all due respect to the experiences of the countries that have established Socialism, Socialism in the U.S.A. will not be patterned after any other model. It will be molded by our experiences--by our traditions as a people."

"Our point of reference is that capitalism as a system is on the way out and socialism as a system is on the way in."

The Worker,
December 26, 1965, p. 8.

III. LABOR AND INDUSTRY--The Communist Party Line

1. The root cause of poverty is the exploitation of labor. An above-poverty income requires a \$2 minimum wage, at least.
2. Repeal of Section 14-b of the Taft-Hartley Act, minimum wage improvement, and many other measures listed as a must by labor have become lost in the din of martial music accompanying the parade of men to Southeast Asia. The escalation of the war is accompanied by growing Government interference in union affairs. If the war continues, labor will face wage freezes as well as rising prices. Regardless of what position top labor leaders take toward the war, the workers have a stake in the fight for peace.
3. Labor should take a position of leadership in an alliance of the peace forces, the Negro freedom movement, and the trade-union movement. Such an alliance could force a change in foreign policy and could end the Jim Crow system, north and south. It could bring into being more meaningful reforms to deal with poverty, unemployment, the problems of youth, and the crisis in the cities.
4. Full economic security for the Negro, as for the white worker, can be achieved only under socialism.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. At Least, a \$2 Minimum Wage for All Labor

"...Exploitation of labor is the root cause of poverty..."

"Higher minimum wages--\$2 per hour at least--for all labor everywhere, are needed to end extremes of exploitation and to assure above-poverty incomes for the employed..."

The Worker,
September 19, 1965, p. 5.

2. Labor's Stake in Fight for Peace

"The steady escalation of the U. S. government's intervention into the affairs of foreign countries is accompanied by growing government interference in union affairs at home (finances, elections, contract negotiations). The government now emerges as the third party sitting at the bargaining table--not merely as an observer or an umpire. It seeks to impose a settlement on the workers which is satisfactory not only to the steel companies but to monopoly capital as a whole. This is state-monopoly capitalism in practice."

A. Krchmarek, "Observations on the Situation in Steel," Political Affairs, July, 1965, p. 40.

"...the directive of President Johnson, made on the eve of Labor Day, calling for a cut of some nine billion dollars in non-defense spending because of increased expenditures on the aggressive war in South Vietnam represents a serious challenge to labor, the Negro Freedom movement and all progressive forces. It spells a reversal of domestic policy to correspond to the reversal in foreign policy."

"...Clearly the organizations of the workers cannot be silent on the aggressive war in Vietnam or the intervention in the Dominican Republic."

The Worker,
September 5, 1965, p. 3.

"...What has happened in recent weeks while labor has waited for miracles from Johnson? The civil rights struggle suffered a heavy blow with the defeat of home rule for Washington, D. C., a Republican-led filibuster killed 14b, possibly for this session of Congress; minimum wage improvement was shelved again; and many other measures listed as a must by Labor and the Administration, have become lost in the din of martial music accompanying the parade of men and arms to Southeast Asia.

"The Administration is far more preoccupied with war mobilization and finding another \$10 billion a year for Vietnam expenditures than with effectively implementing the new legislation or passing additional measures.

"Most serious, however, is the counter offensive which the anti-labor forces are endeavoring to build up on the wave of the disappointment experienced by union forces. Determined to prevent enactment of 14b repeal in 1966, they are also steaming up their pressure cliques for new legislation to restrict the right to strike."

"WHY NOT A MASS mobilization in Washington when Congress opens? That would be a most effective way to both counter the offensive the employers are trying to build up and to spotlight the demands of labor and other peoples' organizations."

The Worker,
November 14, 1965, p. 5.

"If this war continues labor will face government wage freezes as well as rising prices. Sooner or later, our cold war and hot war expenditures abroad will so reduce gold reserves as to compel devaluation of the dollar and wide-scale inflation. And, in a general atmosphere of war hysteria all the enemies of labor get the upper hand. That is why the period of the cold war has been the one in which labor has made the least gains. And, regardless of what position top labor leaders take toward the war, the workers as potential draftees, as parents, as poor people, as people interested in preventing a world war, have a stake in the fight for peace..."

The Worker,
November 28, 1965, p. 3.

3. Labor's Leadership Needed To Build Alliance with Peace Forces and Negro Movement

"The Washington weekend for peace in Vietnam was also a demonstration of a vital and strategic development that is shaping up among the forces of

social progress in our country. The Washington Assembly was another evidence of the growing merger and conscious inter-action of the fighting forces for Negro freedom, the forces of the Civil Rights Revolution and those who have been for so long advocating an end to war and cold-war policies in the Government's conduct of foreign affairs.

"The cause of peace has become now a major banner which the legions of Negro and white fighters for justice and equality for Negro Americans fly alongside of their civil rights standards."

"As the Negro freedom movement has come to a recognition of this truth, so must the trade union movement come to grasp the banner of the struggle for an end to the dirty war Washington wages in Vietnam."

The Worker
August 15, 1965, p. 3.

"In fact what is needed is that the labor movement on the issue of peace take up a position of leadership as it does on most issues, and that the alliance of the peace forces, of the Negro Freedom movement and of the trade union movement be built on every level in the neighborhoods, the communities, the cities and towns, in the states and nationally."

"Unitedly and acting as an independent force in politics, this great alliance can compel a change in our country's foreign policy towards peace. It can put an end to every vestige of the Jim Crow system, North and South. It can help bring into being ever more meaningful reforms to deal with the widespread poverty, unemployment and insecurity, the problems of our youth and the crisis in the cities."

"This is the sure and only road toward social progress in a world of peace."

The Worker,
September 5, 1965, pp. 3, 10.

"It must be made clear to the peace advocates that within the trade unions there is a growing realization, spurred by the civil rights movement that the war against poverty, the fight for civil rights, for economic security and for peace are indivisible. This realization is becoming the strongest gravitational force drawing together those sectors of the population that made up the loose coalition against Goldwaterism and the rising ultra-Right. Johnson received his major support from the labor movement, the Negro people, the family farmers, the professionals and middle classes of the cities and the impoverished people generally, because of his promises to maintain peace, to create a 'Great Society' and to advance civil rights."

George Morris, "U. S. Labor and Peace," Political Affairs, October, 1965, p. 41.

"The vast majority of the over twenty million Negroes are working people and they constitute the heart of the most exploited segment of the American working class as a whole. Increasingly that class character of the people's liberation effort is coming to the fore; the imaginative, more and more uncompromising, militant character of the effort reflects this class composition and its increasing weight in action. That will continue to mount.

"More and more this must activate the working class as a whole; as increasingly it will itself raise more basic demands and demands of a more and more universal scope--i. e., peace, anti-imperialism, and attacks upon bad housing in general, bad education in general, unemployment in general, inadequate health facilities in general, antimonopoly in general, etc. The demands of the Negro movement are in fact taking on a greater structural character; increasingly, ideas of socialism and Marxism come to the fore, notwithstanding everything."

Herbert Aptheker, "The Watts Ghetto Uprising," Political Affairs, November, 1965, p. 41.

4. Full Economic Security under Socialism

"In the struggle for civil rights, we do not write off any organization working for the end to discrimination. We feel every such organization has a

distinct role to play, and a distinct contribution to make. We recognize that this is a 'multi-class struggle' integral to the fight for democracy in this country. While it is true all these organizations will not go beyond the fight for immediate goals, each of them has its particular place at this stage of struggle. Major victories can be won against discrimination before socialism is achieved. Moreover, the fight to end Jim Crow will produce some very fundamental changes in this society. If the vote becomes a reality to the Southern Negro, for example, it would destroy the Dixiecrat-Republican conservative coalition that dominates Congress, and allow the passage of key legislation (such as genuine home rule for Washington, D. C., repeal of section 14b of the Taft-Hartley law, and so forth). However, for the Negro, as for the white worker, full economic freedom and security can only be achieved under socialism."

The Worker,
November 14, 1965, p. 9.

IV. AGRICULTURE--The Communist Party Line

1. The situation of most farmers is worsening in the face of a rising economy.
2. The poor farmer should unite with the working class to fight for survival.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Farmers' Situation Worsening in Face of Rising Economy

"... What kind of prosperity is it, indeed, whose main effect is to widen the gap between rich and poor? And what kind of economic policy is it which, in the name of fighting poverty, devotes itself primarily to 'dispensing largesse to the rich'?

"... omitted from the beneficiaries of prosperity are the bulk of the farmers. From 1961 to 1964 the parity ratio, expressing the ratio of prices paid to prices received by farmers, fell from 79 to 75, continuing a decline which began in 1953. Net farm income remained virtually unchanged: it totaled \$12.5 billion in 1961 and again in 1964. (Its postwar peak, attained in 1947, was \$17.3 billion.) The farmers' share of retail prices has continued to shrink; from 51 per cent in 1947 it has declined to 37 per cent today. This persistent worsening of the farmers' situation in the face of a rising economy reflects the growing dominance of the food and other monopolies and the increasing tribute they exact, particularly from the small farmers."

Hyman Lumer, "Where Is
The Economy Heading?"
Political Affairs,
July, 1965, pp. 5, 6.

2. Poor and Middle Farmers' Interests Coincide with Those of Working Class

"... There can be no doubt that large-scale farming, and as an alternative some attempts at collective solutions, will be made in the future....

Our program should give much more emphasis to the present development among the farm population. A thorough study in depth of the basic farm problems should be made. There can be no doubt that corporation farming will lead to an increasing utilization of wage labor on the farm. The poor and middle farmer's plight will become worse. The only way he can cope with his problem is to unite together with his kind and fight it out to survive. In this struggle he will naturally seek the help of the workers. His interests more than ever coincide with those of the working class."

Vincent Ignatius, "The Role of the Working Class," Political Affairs, November, 1965, p. 50.

V. COLONIALISM-- The Communist Party Line

1. Puerto Rico is one of the diminishing number of old-style colonies in an era of disintegrating empires. All of Latin America, with the exception of Cuba, suffers political and economic domination by the U. S.
2. Were it not for Soviet power offering an alternative, it is doubtful that over a billion and a half people would have been able to free themselves from colonialism and imperialism.
3. No class is so powerful that it can withstand the tides of history. U. S. presence in Vietnam contradicts the laws of history and cannot long abide.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Puerto Rico Old-Style Colony of United States

"Behind the changing face of Puerto Rico lies the unchanged fact that the island is a colony of the United States, one of the diminishing number of old-style colonies in an era of disintegrating empires....

"... The whole of Latin America suffers political and economic domination by the United States, with the sole escape so far of Cuba. But the domination is exercised in a semi-colonial relationship, with nominal political independence and economic penetration alongside the political framework...."

John Schuyler, "Puerto Rico's Economic Bondage," Political Affairs, October, 1965, p. 43.

2. Soviet Power Enables Colonial Countries To Gain Freedom

"Today, 20 years after World War II, the Soviet Union has emerged as the main force, generating enough power to give to peoples of color the

world over the confidence that they could shake off the shackles of world imperialism. Were it not for Soviet power offering an alternative to capitalism and imperialism it is doubtful that over one and a half billion people would have been able to free themselves from colonialism and imperialism.

"We ask were it not for Soviet power, could Nasser have seized control of the Suez Canal without the British lion breathing down his back. We ask, were it not for Soviet power could little Cuba defy the might of the colossus of Western imperialism--our own imperialists. We ask, without Soviet possession of the means of destruction comparable to that possessed by the West, would the imperialist powers have acceded freedom to former colonial countries without military intervention? Of course not! Without the threat or potentiality of the Soviet coming to the aid of the peoples' struggle for independence and freedom, their movements would have been crushed in blood baths as was the case in centuries gone by.

"And the existence of Soviet power, therefore, has helped to provide the setting out of which Negro demonstrators can now march through the streets of the big metropolies of our nation chanting slogans such as 'FREEDOM NOW!'

"Whatever or however one views the system of the Soviet Union, these are historical facts which will stand the investigation of time."

The Worker,
September 12, 1965, p. 10.

3. Tides of History Rise against Colonial Overlords

"... thanks to the victories over imperialism and colonialism already achieved in so many countries, U.S. imperialism is now left to fight its unjust war alone, while the overwhelming majority of the world's people associate themselves in sympathy and material aid with the victim of imperialism's aggression--Vietnam.

"The horror-war which the U.S. armed forces are waging against Vietnam is adding to all the contradictions by which the U.S. imperialist class is riven and will result in foreshortening the term

of its reign as the dominant class in American society. No class is so powerful that it can withstand the tides of history. The tides of history rise inexorably against the military aggressors and colonial overlords everywhere in the world today.

"The presence of the U.S. imperialists on the backs of the Vietnam people contradicts the laws of history and cannot long abide. This is a prophecy that can but be true thanks to the process of the change in the relation of class forces on a world scale in the history of our time which the Revolution of November 7, 1917, commenced."

The Worker,
November 7, 1965, p. 3.

"THE NATIONAL liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people is fully in accord with the United Nations resolution against colonialism, and the Charter provisions upholding the right of self-determination of peoples."

The Worker,
November 14, 1965, p. 5.

VI. LEGISLATIVE AND JUDICIAL AFFAIRS--The Communist Party Line

1. The Supreme Court decision declaring the membership registration provision of the McCarran Act unconstitutional is a victory for the Bill of Rights.
2. The fight against the McCarran Act must be waged with vigor on the political and ideological as well as the legal front.
3. The KKK hearings by the House Committee on Un-American Activities were an outrage. "The Worker" has been singled out for investigative persecution. Every newspaper and journalist in the land should demand that the Committee be abolished.
4. The voting rights bill is one of the most vital pieces of legislation since the 15th amendment to the U.S. Constitution. A break through the power of the ultra-Right has been made. Labor, the peace forces, and those fighting the battle against poverty can reap great benefits.
5. The measures enacted that were of concern to the working class were not handed down by a magnanimous Congress and President. They were the result of mass struggle by millions. These gains represent a recognition of the growing power of the people, the role of the labor movement, the Negro movement, and progressive forces generally.
6. Medicare as passed is not what it should be. Many defects need to be corrected.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Supreme Court Decision Victory for Bill of Rights

"THE SUPREME COURT'S unanimous decision declaring the membership registration provision of the McCarran Law unconstitutional

is a victory for the Bill of Rights, declared Gus Hall, chief spokesman of the Communist party. He demanded that all further prosecution under that law and the Smith Act stop."

The Worker,
November 16, 1965, p. 1.

"The Supreme Court's ruling against a provision designed in actuality to outlaw the Communist Party thus strikes a blow for freedom of speech, press and assembly for all Americans. It is a contribution to the advance of the democratic forces in our country today, just as the passage of the McCarran Act was a blow against all democratic rights in its day."

"A Momentous Decision,"
Political Affairs,
December, 1965, p. 4.

2. Smash the McCarran Act

"THE CIVIL RIGHTS movement has raised the cry: No more deaths at the hands of racists. We join in that cry, and we add: No more deaths at the hands of anti-Communists! An end to the legalized weapon of McCarranism used by the enemies of American democracy! Smash the McCarran Act!"

The Worker,
October 31, 1965, p. 9.

"... The Communist Party defends itself, its constitutional rights only insofar as it defends those of the American people. It has no rights separate and apart from theirs.

"And now these rights are threatened from many sides by the attitude of men in high places to international as well as domestic issues."

"The fight against the McCarran Act must be waged with the greatest vigor on the political and ideological as well as the legal front."

The Worker,
November 9, 1965, p. 7.

"... Communists will never accept the McCarran Act's degrading and distorted definition of what they stand for, and... they demand vindication of their honorable and patriotic record of service in the best interests of the nation."

The Worker,
December 7, 1965, p. 1.

3. No More HUAC!

"The committee hearings have offered a parade of 'wizards' of the Ku Klux Klan and other hobgoblins of that terrorist order of white-hooded assassins and murderers who are guilty of beatings, bombings and killings of Negroes seeking to exercise their rights as citizens and of white civil rights workers."

"This HUAC 'hearing' is an outrage against the reason and sense of morality of every thoughtful person...."

The Worker,
October 31, 1965, p. 3.

"Already HUAC has made its first move against this newspaper. We have learned that Congressman Willis... had subpoenaed all our bank records since 1963.

"Old HUAC... has now taken its filthy self into an area of privileged First Amendment freedom where the capitalist angels have even feared to tread..."

"We don't think HUAC's timing is accidental. It is more than a coincidence that the paper with the most consistent record for exposing the barbarous practices of Washington's policy of aggression in Vietnam, and aiding in every way the mobilization of public opinion to demand a halt to U.S. aggression there, is being singled out for investigative persecution by HUAC."

"Right now, the demand that HUAC cease and desist should go out from every newspaper and journalist in the land, indeed from every citizen who has a concern for his own cherished Bill of Rights. Address your Congressman, Senators and President Johnson himself.

"TELL THEM:

"The Johnson Administration must not permit HUAC to put its filthy paws on the sacred sanctuary of the freedom of the press.

"Make HUAC take its paws off THE WORKER!
No more phony investigations!
No more anti-Communist persecutions!
No more HUAC!"

The Worker,
December 14, 1965, p. 1.

4. Voting Rights Bill One of Most Vital since 15th Amendment

"LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON'S name has been affixed to a voting rights bill of far reaching potentialities. It is in fact one of the most vital pieces of legislation ever to have passed through Congress since the enactment in 1867 of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution...."

"The signing of the voting rights bill is an historic victory in a battle that has, however, not ended. It must be recognized as such. In this step the President has been forced to act as an ally of the people. A break through the

power of the ultra-Right to retard the passage of progressive legislation has been made. Labor, the peace forces, those fighting the battle against poverty cannot but reap great benefits if this measure is consolidated. That, however, is a monumental step...."

"Rallies, conferences and all manner of street demonstrations can be part of the political action program carrying the battle on. Certainly no voices seeking enforcement of voting rights should be excluded lest it weaken the growing unity of the people in struggle.

"This victory must further awaken labor to the great prowess of the Negro as a fighter and his value as an ally. A complete victory can be realized through the consolidation of the people's unity in struggle."

The Worker,
August 15, 1965, p. 3.

5. Measures of Concern to Working Class Result of Mass Struggle

"Among major measures passed are the voting registration act, medicare, some expansion of the anti-poverty program, aid to education, subsidies for rent to some of the needy. Still pending are bills to repeal Section 14B of the Taft Hartley law and revise the discriminatory immigration law.

"All these measures, which are of concern not only to the working class, Negro and white, but to all the common people were not handed down by a magnanimous Congress and President. Like the progress under the New Deal, they are the result of mass struggle by millions spearheaded by the heroic struggles of the great Negro people....

"These gains represent a recognition of the growing power of the people, the role of the labor movement, the Negro Freedom Movement of progressive forces generally and their influence on the affairs of the nation."

The Worker,
September 5, 1965, p. 3.

"The limited security in old age which came as a result of sharp struggle should now be extended. We should demand its improvement, making its provisions more ample in the future. As an example, while the demand for new and cheap modern housing for the elderly and retired has its place, it now should be extended to provide a choice as to where one wants to live. There should be a simple demand for a sharp increase in the amount of social security benefits. Not only should these funds be adequate for an American standard of life and a comfortable home. Social security should provide opportunity to travel, to pursue interests that are of value to our country. I think our program on social security should reflect not what other countries have done but what we are capable of in our own country. We should combat vigorously the program of pasturing and segregating the elderly and retired from the mainstream of life in society as the system that we now have wants to do."

Vincent Ignatius, "The Role of the Working Class," Political Affairs, November, 1965, pp. 48-49.

6. Many Defects in Medicare Bill Still To Be Corrected

"Of course, Medicare as passed is not what it should be."

"Now it is about time, in the richest country of the world that health insurance should be provided within the means of all--whether 65 or under. Greater general revenues could be used for this purpose instead of for 'defense.'"

The Worker,
August 3, 1965, p. 6.

"NOW THAT medicare has been enacted into law, many senior citizens think there is nothing more to be done. But they are mistaken.

"Many defects in the Medicare Act are still to be corrected. The \$40 to be paid by the patient for the first day, and in the voluntary medical section the \$50 deductible and the 20 percent to be paid by the patient are too high for

many senior citizens. Then the four items excluded from the compulsory section of the act in the final version should be restored as it was in the original King-Anderson version.

"SOCIAL SECURITY payments could be much higher. When one stops to consider that there is a floor of \$44 monthly (some get as little as that), that the average monthly payment is only \$38, and for a family only \$130 a month, it is easy to recognize that Social Security payments could be doubled without putting the recipients in the luxury class.

"The recent raise of 7 percent in Social Security is certainly inadequate."

The Worker,
October 31, 1965, p. 5.

VII. ARMED FORCES--The Communist Party Line

1. U.S. Armed Forces have committed every crime against humanity, every breach of civilized standards of decency against the population of Vietnam.
2. The generals, the admirals, and the monopolists benefit from the war in Vietnam. More and more young Americans are being sent to kill and be killed so that South Vietnam will become a satellite to Wall Street imperialism.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. U.S. Commits Every Crime against Humanity in Vietnam

"In Vietnam every crime against humanity, every breach of civilized standards of decency has been committed by the armed forces and bombing planes of the U.S. against the Vietnam population.

"Such desecration and violence against fellow human beings cannot be allowed to go on.

"There is nothing left for the Government of the U.S. to do, to redeem, in some measure, its honor but to promptly and dramatically take the initiative, ground its planes and commence the withdrawal of its troops."

The Worker,
November 21, 1965, p. 3.

"Our country's military forces, including our young draftees, have been committed to a cause without honor.

"Under the orders of the Pentagon and the Government in Washington, our armed forces are committing unspeakable atrocities there....

"Not only is the U.S. Government guilty of incinerating hundreds of inhabited places, of defoliating agricultural areas with noxious gases, of causing

the death of scores of thousands of noncombatant men and women and children, but it also stands accused of sending to their death over one thousand of our young citizens in uniform who were mustered into the war under the compulsion of the draft."

The Worker,
November 28, 1965, p. 1.

"The criminal war policy in Vietnam will be recorded as one of this country's most dastardly acts. . . ."

The Worker,
December 14, 1965, p. 8.

2. Generals, Admirals, Monopolists Benefit from War in Vietnam

"The only ones in our country to benefit from the increase in death and destruction ordered for Vietnam by Johnson are the bankers and the armaments monopolists.

"For the rest of the American people, the only result has been increased horror, shame and disgrace.

"The blood of young American GIs and Vietnamese women, children and old men is soaked in the dollars piling up in the coffers of the millionaires as the result of the dirty war in Southeast Asia."

The Worker,
October 17, 1965, p. 3.

"The only people benefiting from the Vietnam war are the monopolists and the generals and admirals in the Pentagon. For the American people, in addition to the loss of loved ones in direct battle, it means an increased cost of living, more taxes and cuts in the social services. . . ."

The Worker,
November 28, 1965, p. 10.

"President Johnson and McNamara have decided to stop the South Vietnamese people from achieving freedom and independence, from determining their own destiny. The Johnson administration is sending more and more young American GIs to Vietnam to kill and be killed so that South Vietnam shall become a satellite to Wall Street imperialism."

The Worker,
December 7, 1965, p. 3.

VIII. MINORITY (NATIONAL AND RACIAL) GROUPS--The Communist Party Line

1. The civil rights movement must face up to the question of foreign policy as an integral part of the struggle for Negro freedom. It is impossible to wipe out ghettos and slums while squandering billions each year on armaments.
2. Instead of sending troops to Santo Domingo and Vietnam on phony crusades for freedom, President Johnson should invoke some of the powers vested in him by the U.S. Constitution and Federal laws to enforce democracy in our own country.
3. Communists are proud of their long struggle for equal rights. The Communist Party, USA, was the only political party to draw the lessons of the Harlem outburst and to come forth with a program to eliminate the causes for them. Watts is a warning to the Nation.
4. As a group and through the leading Jewish organizations and newspapers, Jews have done far too little in the battle for social justice.
5. The criminality of American police is notorious; their brutality in connection with the poor, particularly the Negro and Puerto Rican poor, is monstrous. It is fantastic that police are permitted to judge themselves when charges are made against them. There should be civilian control, with civilian review boards.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Foreign Policy an Integral Part of Struggle for Negro Freedom

"CIVIL RIGHTS and race relations organizations denounced Johnson's administration, last week, for dragging its feet to implement

the new civil rights laws and Supreme Court decision which outlaw segregation in Southern schools."

"All of this backsliding conflicts with claims by Johnson Administration officials that enough legislation has been passed this session. It comes at a time when several major antipoverty programs are under attack and Negro leaders are aroused and resentful at an apparent Administration slack in enforcing Negro civil rights. It meets with Washington's heightened escalation of the Vietnam war.

"The road for both civil rights and peace organizations should be clear. Both forces and their programs should be joined."

The Worker,
October 24, 1965, p. 12.

"...It is impossible to squander more than \$50 billion on armaments each year and still invest the tens of billions needed yearly to wipe out ghettos and slums and modernize education and transportation. Thus the problem of poverty and poor people cannot be solved by civil rights legislation alone. The civil rights movement must face up to the question of foreign policy as an integral part of the struggle for Negro freedom."

The Worker,
November 28, 1965, p. 3.

2. Democracy in This Country instead of Freedom Crusades in Vietnam and Santo Domingo

"In Bogalusa, La., the subhuman white-supremacists mock, beat, kill, without fear of punishment, brave Negro citizens, who are crying out for their democratic rights under the U.S. Constitution.

"In Anniston, Ala., a Negro dies of wounds inflicted from ambush by cowardly racist night riders."

"In Selma, Ala., Sheriff James Clark, who leads the clubbers and jailers of Negro children, struts about even more arrogantly since he was elected vice president of the National Association of Sheriffs.

"In Philadelphia, Miss., the murderers of the three civil rights martyrs a year ago, roam the streets freely.

"In New York City, a corrupted police force vents its spleen on the Negro and Puerto Rican peoples.

"In Chicago, a contemptuous Mayor Richard Daley and his school superintendent, Benjamin Willis, keep Negro and white children segregated in their schools, in violation of the nation's laws.

"IN THESE PLACES and many others throughout the U.S., is where the national emergency really exists. If the President wants to declare such an emergency now, let him do so within our own boundaries, bring back the troops from Vietnam and deploy them against the enemies of democracy in our own country, who are in armed insurrection against the government and laws."

The Worker,
July 20, 1965, p. 2.

"President Johnson has a responsibility to guarantee justice in the Southern states. Instead of sending U.S. troops to Santo Domingo and Vietnam on phony cruades for freedom, let him invoke some of the powers vested in him by the U.S. Constitution and the federal laws to enforce democracy in the South."

The Worker,
October 3, 1965, p. 3.

"President Johnson continually vows a battle for Negro equality. But the vows are meaningless, as long as the White House refuses to act to protect the Negro people in the exercise of their lawful rights from the racist enemies of the nation.

"If Johnson is sincere in his promises, he will demonstrate it by sending in U.S. marshals and troops, and by superseding the white supremacist courts and police."

The Worker,
October 19, 1965, p. 2.

3. Communists Proud of Their Struggle for Equal Rights

"The fact that Communists support integration, and have done so for over 35 years, is neither a startling revelation, nor does it make a crime of integration, just as it is no crime to be a Communist. The fact that Communists participate in demonstrations for integration is likewise no crime nor a startling discovery....Communists are proud of their long struggle for equal rights...."

The Worker,
July 11, 1965, p. 4.

"Watts is a warning to the nation, that it must either fight a real war on poverty or face not only 'long hot summers' but hot winters too.

"The only political party to draw the lessons of the Harlem outbursts and to come forth with a program to eliminate the causes for them, was the Communist Party, USA."

The Worker,
August 22, 1965, p. 10.

4. Jews, as Group, Have Done Too Little

"...a special word to Jews. There are five and a half million in the United States--almost half of what's left in this world. Relatively, Jews have not been backward in the struggle for social justice here in the United States including in the battle for Negro liberation... Still, as a group and through the leading Jewish organizations and in the leading Jewish newspapers, too little,

far too little, has been said and, in particular, done. Have Jewish leaders, have Jewish organizations done enough to ask Negro leaders and Negro organizations how best they could participate?"

Herbert Aptheker, "The Watts Ghetto Uprising," Political Affairs, October, 1965, p. 23.

5. Civilian Control over Police

"The civilian review board has clearly become a major test between the forces for democracy in N. Y. and the racist-reactionary-police alliance."

"At issue is the struggle against the Northern bloodbrothers of the Southern White Citizens Council, who want the police to act as the mailed fist to repress the Negro and Puerto Rican struggle against ghettos.

"It is time for the superior forces of democracy to face the issue. There is no better time to do this than now, in the midst of one of New York's most crucial elections."

The Worker,
July 18, 1965, p. 10.

"It is indeed a fantastic situation, when the police are permitted to judge themselves when charges are made against them. It is as if a man charged with murder or robbery were to be allowed to determine his own judicial fate. That is precisely what the present police machinery does when it reviews charges of assault or murder against police brought by citizens."

The Worker,
August 10, 1965, p. 7.

" 'Establish authentic civilian control over the police with a Citizens Review Board.' "

The Worker,
August 22, 1965, p. 10.

"The fact is that anyone who has lived in the United States for any period of time with his eyes open... knows as a matter of common knowledge that the criminality of American police is notorious and that their illegal and extra-legal activity is scandalous and that, in particular, their brutality in connection with the poor and above all the Negro (and Puerto Rican) poor is monstrous...."

Herbert Aptheker, "The Watts Ghetto Uprising," Political Affairs, November, 1965, p. 31.

IX. EDUCATION--The Communist Party Line

1. The time has come to extend the right to a free education from the public school system to the colleges.
2. The American educational system is backward in form and content from kindergarten through the university. It is almost completely segregated; an increasing proportion is private or religious, not public. The curriculum and instruction, generally speaking, are racist. The system operates upon the assumption of the superiority of the rich. Anticommunism is present in all levels of instruction.
3. The desires and policies of extreme reaction are triumphant in higher education. Multimillionaires, to whom unfettered thinking is foreign, dominate policies.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. Free College Education

"Why must free education stop at the doors of the high schools at a time when the demands of our society make a college education not a luxury but an economic necessity?

"There is a growing awareness, particularly among educators, that the time has come to extend the right to a free education from the public school system to the colleges."

The Worker,
November 30, 1965, p. 6.

2. Education Backward in Form and Content

"In form and content, no major American institution is so backward as the educational. This is true from kindergarten through university.

"In terms of form, the most significant backward elements are:

1) an almost completely segregated and racist school system... 2) an increasing proportion of education no longer is public and secular but increasingly is private and religious... 3) a fantastic difference in all criteria of education exists between schools located where the rich live and those 'serving' the poor; 4) higher education--both public and private--is dominated completely by a system of Boards of Trustees or Regents... almost all white, Anglo-Saxon, elderly, notoriously reactionary, and grossly wealthy; 5) the widespread existence of various witch-hunting and 'loyalty' requirements.

"In terms of content, the most significant backward elements are:

1) the curriculum and instruction, generally speaking, are racist... 2) the assumptions of education are elitist... the educational system operates in fact upon the assumption of the intellectual and moral superiority of the rich... 3) anti-Communism is required by law for millions of younger students... 4) on the higher educational levels, the same end has been sought in more sophisticated ways; i. e., weeding out radical and Marxist (not to speak of Communist) instructors... 5)... emphasis has been given to systems marked by cynicism, denial of causation, denial of progress, and concerted assaults upon democratic postulates."

"The influence of the Left is growing; leaders of the Left are gaining wider and wider audiences. Not only are the numbers increasing; the intensity and respect of their attention are growing."

Herbert Aptheker, "The Academic Rebellion in the United States,"
Political Affairs,
August, 1965, pp. 34, 35, 36.

3. Extreme Reaction in Higher Education

"In no other institution in the United States have the desires and policies of extreme reaction been in fact so completely triumphant as they have been in that of higher education and this triumph has existed... for over sixty years. Today, multi-millionaires dominate the policies of colleges and universities;

nothing is more foreign to these tycoons and nothing is more contrary to their wishes than unfettered thinking, basic inquiry, the skeptical approach, the non-pecuniary essence of scholarly devotion and conscientious teaching."

"... In all other civilized countries--including capitalist nations, such as Great Britain, France, Italy Holland, Belgium, Canada, Mexico--scholars are on faculties because of their scholarship; this means that in all of them among the most distinguished professors are many radicals and not a few Communists. The same would be true in the United States if there did not exist a 'pall of fear' and Right-wing control barring fully competent people solely on political grounds--a pall and a control generated and maintained by the financial barons dominating American universities."

Herbert Aptheker, "Academic Freedom in the United States," Political Affairs, July, 1965, pp. 55, 58.

X. CULTURE, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION--The Communist Party Line

1. If this country is to survive as a nation, it will be largely because of the Negro. The American Negro people have, because of their morally superior condition and position, become a superior people.
2. There is what may be called a tendency toward the monopolization of scientific work. Increasingly such work is financed directly by the Government, by major industrial giants, or by foundations subsidized by such giants.
3. Science and art in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are being used to ennable the life of man. There man has emancipated himself from penury and political injustice.
4. The Pope's benediction for peace and the statement of the National Council of Churches demanding a halt to the bombing of Vietnam should inspire and hearten those who have been engaged in the struggle for peace.
5. Sincere, religious-minded Americans are against U. S. foreign policy. The brutality and injustice in Vietnam, as well as the oppression and terror in Mississippi and Alabama, cannot be reconciled with the humanist teachings of religion.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. American Negroes a Superior People

"Indeed, the morally superior condition and position of the American Negro people for centuries, and their present morally superior position has made of them, in my opinion, a superior people. I do not mean genetically or biologically of course, but I do mean morally, in terms of values and in terms of warmth, comradeship, courtesy, thoughtfulness, determination, perception, endurance. Symbolic of the American Negro are the greatest Americans of the last two centuries: Frederick Douglass and W. E. B. Du Bois.

"This is part of the reason why, I think, if this nation is to survive as a nation having human values at all it will be largely because of the qualities--as well as the necessities--of the American Negro people."

Herbert Aptheker, "The Watts Ghetto Uprising," Political Affairs, November, 1965, p. 40.

2. A Tendency toward Monopolization of Scientific Work

"Coincident with the extraordinary intensification of monopolization which has characterized the U.S. economy since 1940--and especially since 1950--there has appeared what may be called a tendency towards the monopolization of scientific work. Increasingly such work has been financed either directly by the U.S. government or by major industrial giants or by foundations subsidized by such giants. Today the greatest proportion of funds available to universities comes from the federal government--a distinctly new development for the United States; at the same time, the greatest portion of what is left comes from the traditional source for financing higher education in the U.S.A., --i. e., the largest corporations.

"... while ten percent of the gross national product is directly dependent upon war production, over eighty per cent of the scientists and technicians in the United States actually are employed in military-connected efforts!..."

Herbert Aptheker, "Recent Ideological Developments In the United States," Political Affairs, December, 1965, p. 44.

3. Soviet Science and Art To Enoble Life of Man

"The AGE OF MAN which the Russian Revolution initiated is being, and will be evermore, characterized by man's mastery over the elemental forces of nature as well as of the social relationships within human society itself.

"For the first time in human history, there in the Soviet Union and to varying degrees in the other socialist countries, man is establishing rational relations within his society so as to insure that the bounty of nature and science will serve the requirements of man himself.

"The concept of 'everything to enable the life of man' is now the prime purpose and unfolding reality in the affairs of society and the workings of science and art in the Soviet Union and the socialist countries.

"There man has emancipated himself from penury under the blind forces of nature and from the injustice of the political rule of exploiting classes. There he is not only a conscious participant in, but verily a maker of, his own history."

The Worker,
November 7, 1965, p. 3.

4. Vietnam Brutality and Racist Oppression Irreconcilable with Religious Teachings

"The naked brutality and injustice of the aggression in Vietnam and the racist oppression and terror in Mississippi and Alabama cannot be reconciled with the humanist teachings of religion. Sincere, religious-minded Americans are in rebellion as are all progressive peace-loving Americans, against the immorality and the hypocrisy of our foreign policy which proclaims its peaceful intentions while it acts to turn Vietnam into a graveyard."

The Worker,
November 14, 1965, p. 3.

5. Stand of Church Leaders an Inspiration for Peace Endeavors

"By coming to the United States to make his pronouncement for peace, the Pope made manifestly clear where the source of the gravest threat to world peace lies. Above all, the danger of world war is built into the acts of military aggression and wars of intervention which the Government of the United States is carrying out in Vietnam and has been guilty of committing in the Dominican Republic and in respect to Cuba.

"The inspiration of the Pope's benediction for the peace endeavors of the United Nations should be a great source of encouragement and resolution on the part of tens of millions of our countrymen to renew and enlarge the struggle to bring an end to the war which the Johnson Administration is waging in Vietnam."

The Worker,
October 10, 1965, p. 3.

"THE NATIONAL COUNCIL of Churches unites some 30 denominations of Protestant and Eastern Orthodox churches with a combined membership of 40 million persons.

"Last Friday, the Council issued a policy statement in which it demanded an immediate halt to the bombing of Vietnam...."

"The members of denominations affiliated with the National Council will be taking their place in the ranks and leadership of the anti-war-in-Vietnam fighters alongside of the Catholic adherents to the doctrines of Pope John and the peace appeals of Pope Paul and at the side of Jewish believers who walk in the wisdom of Rabbi Maurice W. Eisendrath, the stern foe of U. S. intervention of Vietnam affairs."

"The action of the National Council of Churches should hearten all those who have been engaged on the front of struggle for peace. The addition to the peace front of such a mighty army of reserves should inspire the movement to great new initiatives to enlist and assert the will of the majority of the nation... "

The Worker,
December 7, 1965, p. 2.

XI. WOMEN--The Communist Party Line

1. Everything that women hold dear--peace, freedom, friendship, equal rights, dignity of peoples, and the necessary material things--is threatened by the reactionaries.
2. More attention to the problems of working-class women would enable them to work in the peace and freedom movements, in trade-unions, and in other progressive organizations. Socialism, with its true concern for the individual, is the ultimate answer to women's problems.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. All That Women Hold Dear Threatened by Reactionaries

"THE AMERICAN reactionaries are threatening all that the women of the world hold dear (as well as all men of reason)--peace, freedom, the friendship and equal rights and dignity of peoples, and all the material things necessary to live a full, productive, culturally satisfying and happy life."

"I am certain that the women of the world will not be lagging in their militant support of the struggle for peace and an end to Washington's war in Vietnam being spearheaded by the women who are striking out for peace in the United States itself."

The Worker,
July 11, 1965, p. 7.

2. Socialism Ultimate Answer for Development of Women

"Giving more attention to the problems of working-class women can only result in building a powerful reservoir for work in the peace and freedom movements, in the trade unions and other progressive organizations."

"... Women with small children should, indeed, press for a recognition of their need for continuing education. With many working-class women, this will consist, not only of custom-built educational forms at a college level, but at a high school level. Basically required are free educational opportunities, which take into consideration that children must be cared for while the mother is studying. There could be staggered courses taking place at various hours of the day, baby-sitter cooperatives, television courses, accredited, during the day...."

"When women are aroused, they have made heroic marks on the canvas of history. From the days of slavery, through the days of fighting for the right to vote by women, to the women marching on the picket lines for peace, or sitting down in the streets and courthouses of the country for an end to segregation, women can be proud of their militancy and their achievements. These women should be given consideration and help in their problems and assistance in these struggles. Hundreds and thousands more women must be involved.

"It is hardly necessary to point out that, as with all problems of the working class, socialism with its true concern for the individual, is the ultimate answer for striking down the barriers which prohibit development of women."

Nan Sheppard, "Thoughts on 'The Feminine Mystique,'" Political Affairs, August, 1965, pp. 47, 48, 49.

XII. YOUTH--The Communist Party Line

1. The New Left, primarily made up of student groups and those enjoying wide student support, oppose the American system and increasingly demand a wide-ranging structural change. These young Americans generally recognize that a whole new system, perhaps some form of socialism, is the answer to the crisis in America. A large section of the New Left is believed ready to listen to communists and to see communist ideas in action.
2. The Communist Party is increasingly becoming a magnet for young people searching for answers to their questions on peace, democracy, and their economic future.
3. The war in Vietnam has opened up a sharp contradiction between draft-age youth and their Government.

SUPPORTING QUOTATIONS

1. "New Left" Ready To Listen to Communists

"America is being set on fire by its younger generation. All over the nation, young people are on the move, in the forefront of the progressive struggles of our time. Their militancy and courage have captured the imagination of the country, and their activities are the catalyst which will help liberate the immense forces for social change that lie bubbling so very close to the surface."

"These Americans are, in every sense of the word, the heroes of today.... Generally speaking, they are called the 'New Left'."

"The New Left is primarily a student affair. The names of the organizations reflect that: the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Students for a Democratic Society, the Northern Student Movement, the fledgling Southern Students Organizing Committee. Others are either campus-based or enjoy wide support from students."

"The students of the New Left bear the name proudly--both halves of it. They are Left because they oppose the American system as a system,* and increasingly raise demands for wide-ranging structural change. They are militant, uncompromising, and generally recognize that a whole new system, perhaps some form of socialism, is the only real answer to the crisis of America . . ."

" . . . The New Left is potentially a great ally for the working class, and it is the duty of Communists to do everything possible to win that ally. Since the New Left and the Communists are both committed to action as a way of trying out ideas, there is no question but that the New Left will be won in struggle, on the front lines of the movements."

"I think there is a surprisingly large section of the New Left ready to listen to Communists, and willing to see Communist ideas in action. Now is the time for an all-out effort to win for our class this courageous and militant section of youth!"

John Proctor, "The New Left,"
Political Affairs,
December, 1965, pp. 32, 33, 34, 42, 43.

2. Communist Party a Magnet for Young People

" . . . the fact is that not only does the Communist Party remain the largest, most influential organization on the Left, but is becoming increasingly a magnet for young people in search of answers to their questions on peace, democracy and their economic future."

The Editors, "Forty-Six Years of the
C. P. U. S. A.," Political Affairs,
September, 1965, p. 35.

*Underlined portion italicized in original.

"There is only one area where the fight to build the Party is being conducted vigorously and effectively, and that is among the youth. These young people have the idea that in the mass radicalization taking place among the youth in our country today the youth should have an opportunity to decide for themselves whether or not the ideas, philosophy and politics of the Communist movement are for them. An increasing number are deciding that they are."

Albert J. Lima, "Communists and the War on Poverty," Political Affairs, September, 1965, p. 27.

"FROM WASHINGTON, where they were attending the trial of the Communist Party, Gus Hall, James Jackson, Gil Green, and Arnold Johnson sent the following telegram to Bettina Aptheker:

"Washington Press carries story of your proud public affirmation that you are a Communist. We greet your action as fitting rebuke to new McCarran Act trial of the party and to those who want to stifle political dissent and opposition to the dirty war and to those who want to start a new wave of anticommunist McCarthyism.

"We hail your action as a contribution to intellectual integrity and to academic freedom. We are certain that your inspiring deed will be emulated by many others of your generation who favor social progress and recognize that socialism represents the bright future of mankind and the only hope for a sane society. We greet you and embrace you."

The Worker,
November 16, 1965, p. 2.

"...not conservatism, but growing activity for peace, civil rights, civil liberties and jobs was the wave of the future among the youth. Within this growing trend more and more youth would look toward socialism as a solution and toward the Communist Party..."

The Worker,
November 30, 1965, p. 8.

3. Contradiction between Draft-Age Youth and Government

"The conscription of the older family men follows admission by Selective officials in Washington that the young people are becoming a generation of draft dodgers. Further confirmation of the American youths' refusal to participate in the Vietnam war was the announcement last week by Selective Service officials that they are planning to introduce universal conscription, which will put even those rejected for military service into camps under the command of the Pentagon for the two years they are liable for service."

"It was obvious... that part of the reason for turning to the older married men of the armed services reserve to increase the combat force for the war against the Vietnamese people was the breakdown of the draft system due to the nation's youth. McNamara stressed that the new program for the armed services reserve will 'minimize the call on new civilian manpower.' This can only be interpreted as a reference to the draft."

The Worker,
October 5, 1965, p. 1.

"THIS CRIMINAL war of aggression which Washington is waging in Vietnam has opened up a sharp contradiction between the draft-age youth and the Government. It is also producing an ever sharpening conflict between the ranks and the command in the armed forces themselves.

"Pigs are for barbecuing over charcoal fires, not human beings. But our planes, dropping napalm bombs, are converting homes in Vietnam into funeral pyres and people in whole families are being burned to death.

"It surely must have been the contemplation of such features of the horror and injustices of the mission of slaughter-without-honor upon which they were being sent which led four Negro citizen-soldiers to go on a hunger strike in protest against being compelled to go to war against the Vietnam people. These Negro youth are members of the airborne U. S. A. 1st Cavalry Division (Although Negroes are only 10 percent of the total

population, they are 20 percent of the 1st Cavalry Division--a figure equivalent to the ratio of unemployment among Negroes in the United States.)"

"...Four courageous Negro lads who dared to separate themselves from this cannibal-style ritual of napalm-barbecuing of human beings are counted as cowards and traitors and imprisoned. While pilots sailing through the heavens unleash tons of penetrating jellied fire-death upon the heads and bodies of children, of old people, of mothers, and of youth, while such pilots are decorated as heroes."

The Worker,
November 2, 1965, p. 2.